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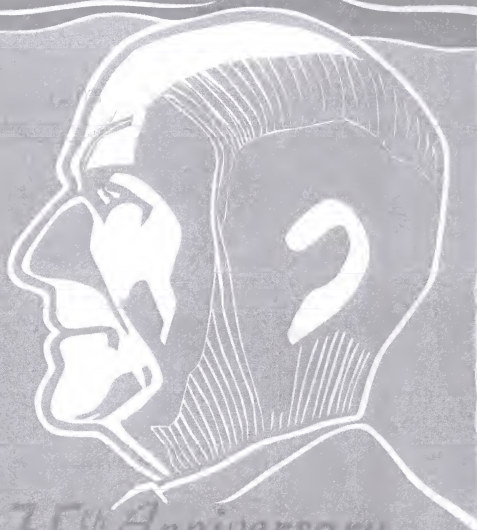
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#115

PARTY



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SOCIALIST ACTION

PAMPHLET

NUMBER 3

#111

WOMEN'S WORK

WHAT IS THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE SOCIALIST

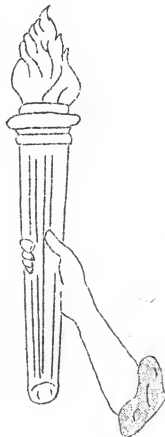
PARTY

May we all agree that the place of women in the Socialist party is IN the Socialist party. There is no more reason why women should be expected to form an auxiliary or a dual organization or have a separate classification in the party than for all people with blue eyes to be so segregated.

Then why is there being issued a pamphlet on women's work? For two reasons: First - not enough women, not even all the women in Socialist families have come to realize the need which the party has for their services. Second - many groups of women want more detailed plans for activities in which they should engage.

It is with the hope that women everywhere will feel the challenge to new forms of endeavor along the specific lines suggested, that this pamphlet is being distributed.

This outline consists of proposed activities in which women should function because of their particular qualities, abilities and opportunities resulting from their background and present position in a bourgeois world. This pamphlet is not intended to suggest women's place in the Cooperative Commonwealth. These plans are for methods by which women may hope to assist in bringing about a Socialist world.



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SOCIALIST HANDBOOK 1937

SEP 19 1978

Published by
SOCIALIST PARTY U. S. A.
549 Randolph Street
CHICAGO

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12 for \$1.50

What Is Socialism?



Socialism stands for a new civilization.

It is a world-wide movement of the working class for better food, better clothing, better homes, more education and culture—in short, a more abundant life.

Socialism starts out with two propositions:

1. All men are brothers, not merely brothers in name, but brothers in fact, with a common blood, common interest, common cause. **THE WELFARE OF ONE IS THE BROTHERLY CONCERN OF ALL OF US**, and being brethren, all war and strife and hatred should cease.

2. The things that men need in common should be owned in common and supplied for the common good, not for private profit.

With these ideas in mind the Socialists make very definite, constructive proposals.

In the political field we demand the rule of the people, i. e., political democracy.

In the economic field we demand the public ownership and democratic management of public utilities, i. e., industrial democracy.

What Socialism Means

Broadly speaking, it means—

First. That the means of production and distribution of wealth which are social and public in nature should be publicly owned. This would include the coal, oil and iron lands, the rivers, forests, and other natural resources. It would also include all the great public utilities such as railroads, telegraph, express companies, and, in short, all the great trusts and monopolies.

Second: That all social utilities, being collectively owned, shall be under democratic control for the benefit of all, in order that profit-making, whereby one person exploits another, shall be abolished.

DECLARATION #114

of Principles

of the Socialist Party of the U. S. A.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY is the party of the workers, regardless of race, color or creed. In mill and mine, shop and farm, office and school, the workers can assert their united power, and through the Socialist Party establish a cooperative commonwealth forever free from human exploitation and class rule.

If the workers delay and drift, they will prolong the period of their enslavement to a decadent capitalism. This uncreative, wasteful and brutally oppressive social system takes jobs away and turns millions of would-be producers into the streets with no assurance that ever again they may become employed—financiers, for their own selfish gain, control markets and prices and autocratically regulate the extension or withdrawal of credit. Those who utilize the profit motive for their own advantage restrict the workers' standard of living, save where labor has aggressively organized and struggled energetically for its rights—and even then deny to the working class the abundance which the modern productive process is technically capable of bestowing upon those willing to labor for the common good. Capitalism invades the peace of farming areas with the all-pervasive danger of insecurity and in many regions with bitter destitution.

Throughout the land it attacks the American home and brands countless children with the pinch of want.

The privileged minority who benefit from exploitation of the multitude are not content with owning the mechanisms of production and distribution, which perpetuates their property power; they control the press, radio, and motion picture; they starve and poison the educational system; they dominate our courts, our municipalities, our state legislative assemblies and our national government; for the extension of their economic domain they expose to the appalling menace of new imperialist wars the innocent youth in our own and other countries, on whom they will lay the ruthless clutch of conscription and send to fight those wars. To confuse the voting masses and retain their authority, they maintain great political parties whose appeal fluctuates between frank reaction and fictitious liberalism, neither of which offers to the workers any substantial or enduring program for the acquisition of their birthright.

Only those who labor with hand and brain, in their concerted might, can overthrow this monstrous system and replace it with a Socialist order. Whenever they will, they can transfer

Did Your Boss Ask You? HM

Did your boss ask for your permission to join a manufacturers' association? Did he ask you which one he should join?

No! Yet he does belong to one or more of these organizations. He most likely is a member of the Chamber of Commerce, The National Manufacturers' Association, and the organization in his particular line—locally and nationally.

Why does he join these organizations? To protect his interests against unfair competition and to cooperate with other employers in keeping labor "in its place."

He recognizes the need for an employers' organization and he thereby admits that

1. Organization is necessary, and
2. That the interests of the bosses as a class are the opposite of the interests of the workers.

Bosses Like Company Unions

Why do bosses welcome company unions and fight labor unions?

- Because company unions never fight for higher wages, and labor unions do;
- Because company unions help keep workers contented with low wages and bad conditions;
- Because company unions always rush to protect the bosses and apologize for their actions; and
- Because company unions never get together with unions in other plants and other industries for their mutual protection.

Labor should organize itself parallel to the bosses' organization: locally along industrial lines and in central bodies of all unions, and nationally by industry

Now let's consider the organization of workers. There is a great deal of talk about "company unions."

What are company unions?

They are independent groups of workers of one company who belong to an organization started by the company and always controlled by the company. Sometimes they are called "workers' councils" or "employee representation" organizations.

Company unions should not be confused with shop unions. Shop unions are also organized in one company but they are affiliated with other unions and have charters from a bona fide national labor union.

The history of company unionism shows that most of them are started when real labor unions try to organize the workers.

and in a strong national federation.

Workers are learning the truth of the old Arabian proverb: "Examine carefully what your master tells you if for your own benefit and then—do the opposite."

Do not be misled by false promises from the employers!

Do not be misled into joining a "company union"!

Join the genuine labor union in your industry!

Build fighting unions for your own protection!

Join with other unions for mutual cooperation!

In organization there is a strength!

Solidarity! Unity! Organization!

Published in the interests of Organized Labor by

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
National Headquarters
549 Randolph Street
Chicago 4 Illinois

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#116



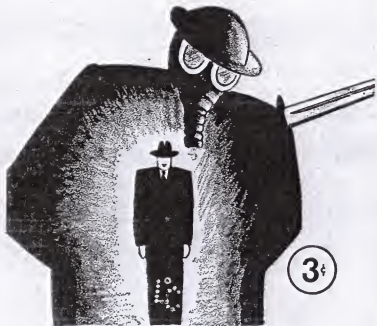
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#117

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**THE
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#118



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SOCIALIST PARTY**
239 East 84th St. New York, N. Y.

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**Socialist Party
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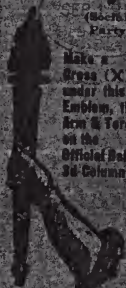
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— PRES. WILSON.

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ABOUT THE
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#122



Seventy-six Questions
and Answers on the
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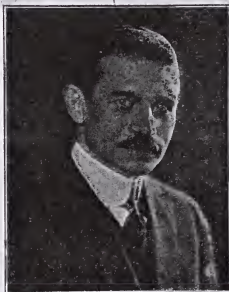
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**WHAT THE SOCIALISTS
HAVE DONE**

#123

BY SENATE OF CONGRESS
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MORRIS HILLQUIT
SOCIALIST CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS
20th Congressional District

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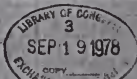


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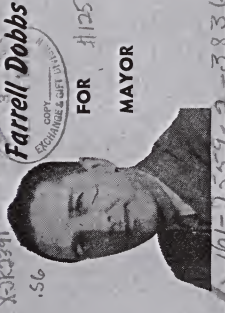
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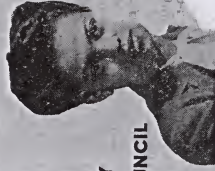
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100 Per Cent Americanism

WHO are the "100 percent Americans"? What is "100 percent Americanism"? Only the authors of this new faith can tell us what we want to know. The National Security League, the United Americans and the American Defense Society are typical of hundreds of these organizations. They represent "100 percent Americanism."

Who are the dominant figures in these and similar organizations? Leading bankers, powerful trust magnates, influential corporation lawyers, railroad directors, investors in Mexican oil properties, executives of industrial and mining corporations, etc.

A list of the active men in or contributors to these organizations include those with vast wealth like Cyrus H. McCormick of the Harvester Trust; Mortimer L. and Jacob H. Schiff of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., great bankers; George W. Perkins of the United States Steel Corporation; H. H. Rogers and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., of the Standard Oil Co.; Simon, Murray and Daniel Guggenheim of the American Smelting Co.; T. Coleman DuPont of the Powder Trust; J. P. Morgan of the United States Steel Corporation, and many others representing the consolidated capital and finance of the United States.

These great oligarchs of capital presume to speak through these organizations and through political parties in the name of "100 percent Americanism." They maintain publicity bureaus and fill the press with their views. They finance lecturers. They speak through noted politicians. They advise Congress and the legislatures what laws to enact. They tell us, day in and day out, what is "true Americanism."

What do they urge? In general they assert that "100 percent Americanism" requires the largest army and navy in the world. It requires universal military service and probably conscription. It includes restrictions on free discussion and free assembly. It favors laws like the Kansas act making strikes of workmen illegal. It favors the old Russian policy of administrative exile. It favors medieval "loyalty tests" for school teachers. It favors censorship of books, pamphlets and newspapers. It favors illegal arrests and raids of "radicals." It favors imprisonment of those who have independent opinions. It is opposed to heavy taxation of enormous war profits. It favors saddling the masses with heavy loans to pay for wars. It favors invasion of Mexico in the interests of American oil investors. It favors imperialism.

All this is "100 percent Americanism" and all who oppose it are "un-American" and "pro-German"!

More than 10,000 new millionaires were made during the war. The old millionaires added enormous increases to their already vast for-

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#128

Socialism

YOU read about Socialism in the newspapers and magazines. A multitude of books have been written for and against it. It is discussed from innumerable platforms and pulpits. Socialist governments have come into existence in many parts of the world. No question is receiving greater attention.

What do you know about it?

The object of this leaflet is to acquaint you with the nature and purpose of Socialism.

It might be defined as a movement for the ownership by all the people—by society—of the sources of wealth and the principal means of production and distribution, and their democratic management for the benefit of all.

These things—the capital of the nation—are not today owned and controlled by all of the people for the benefit of all, but by a small part of the people—the capitalists. The primary interest of the capitalists in the ownership of the means of life of the nation—the land, factories, mills, mines, shops, railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and the like—is to make profits, to amass private fortunes for themselves. This purpose they pursue regardless of the consequences to the great masses of the people.

Because they privately own the capital of the nation, the capitalists own the jobs and control the opportunity to work upon which depend the lives of the workers. This is true because the workers in order to produce wealth must first receive permission to have access to the sources of wealth and the tools of labor, which are the private property of the capitalists.

In hiring the workers, the economic interest of the capitalists is to buy their labor power—which is sold like any other commodity in the open market—as cheaply as possible. The workers on the other hand seek to get as much for their labor power as possible. This gives rise to a conflict of economic interests which arrays the capitalists and workers into economically hostile classes. This conflict of interests Socialists call the class struggle. To more effectively wage this struggle, capitalists and workers organize, the former into employers' associations of one kind or another, and the latter into labor unions.

This class struggle is not wilfully created by individuals or groups, it grows inevitably out of the present economic arrangement, the core of which is the ownership by the few of the means of life of the many, and the consequent control by the same few of the opportunities to work.

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Socialism

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PLATFORM OF THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF KENTUCKY #130

The final struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is quickly drawing near. There can be but one outcome to this struggle, that is the complete crushing of one class by the other. In Russia and Hungary, the working class through the Communist Party has relentlessly crushed its adversary. In Finland the capitalist class was victorious, because the working class was misguided through the efforts of a reform party. Let the American workers take notice of the experiences of their foreign comrades and with a clear revolutionary vision unimpaired by any desires for the reforming of the present, system prepare at this time for the critical struggle that is drawing near.

DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The so-called Democratic form of government now existing in the United States is a farce. There can be no real democracy in a society composed of two warring classes, two classes, which are now maneuvering for positions of vantage from which to launch an attack against their opponents. The present so-called Democratic form of government is an attempt on the part of the master class to fool the workers into believing that they have an opportunity to govern them-

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To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party.

COMRADES:-

We hereby appeal to you from the decision of the National Board of Appeals in the matter of the expulsion of Arthur Kahn from Section New York.

In the summer of 1898 the name of Arthur Kahn, then a member of Section New York, was found enrolled as a Democrat in the City Record of May 19, 1898. Charges were preferred against him, and, after careful investigation, Arthur Kahn was found guilty of the charge, and was expelled by a vote of 344 against 5.

Arthur Kahn thereupon appealed to the National Board of Appeals, which sustained his appeal and ordered him reinstated. We then petitioned the Board for a reopening of the case, thinking that the Board's decision was due to the somewhat incomplete statement of the Organizer, who felt that the case was so clear against Arthur Kahn that no particular pains were necessary. We submitted a more complete statement, drawn by the Grievance Committee which tried the case against Arthur Kahn. The National Board of Appeals refused to reopen the case.

Under the present law of the State of New York, no one can participate in the primary elections of the two old parties in the large cities unless he had previously enrolled himself as a Republican or as a Democrat.

Section New York has been forced to expel several members, who, yielding to the pressure of politicians, had enrolled under this law. In June, 1898, the name of Arthur Kahn, then a member of the 26th Assembly District, S. L. P., was found in the City Record of May 19, 1898, he having enrolled as a Democrat.

Section New York, through its Organizer, thereupon preferred charges against Arthur Kahn. In his defense before the Grievance Committee he claimed that it was not he, the accused, but his cousin, who bears the same name, and lived in the place designated in the City Record, that was enrolled; that he, the accused, could not have enrolled since he was not yet a citizen, and that at the time of enrollment (May, 1898) he lived in the 30th Assembly District.

1. The alleged cousin was at no time produced by the accused, notwithstanding the repeated demands of the Grievance Committee. On the contrary re-

liable Comrades testified that no other Kahn than the accused lived in 355 East Seventy-second street at the time of enrollment. This breaks the backbone of the defense.

2. The accused claims that he was not a citizen at the time of enrollment. But several reliable Comrades testified before the Grievance Committee that Arthur Kahn participated in the primary of the S. L. P. in the 26th Assembly District on September 16, 1897, and acted as its Secretary. The records of the Section bear this out. None but citizens are allowed to participate in these primaries. The accused claims that he did not know that none but citizens can participate, but this claim is absurd. Both in the press and at the opening of each primary non-citizen members are warned to leave the room so as not to come in conflict with the election laws and invalidate the proceedings.

Kahn has been registered as a voter in 1897, as shown by the below extract from City Record of October 19, 1897, containing a list of registered voters in the 26th Assembly District, Borough

12th Election District.

East 72d street.

- 355. Daniel Jacobs.
- Emil Baum.
- Arthur Kahn.
- Morris Levy.
- 357. Thomas E. Hegren.

3. To the claim of the accused, that at the time of enrollment he did not live in the 26th Assembly District, we have only to say in reply that he was at that time a member of the 26th Assembly District, S. L. P., and that in his attempt to disprove that he lived in the place given in the City Record, he repeatedly contradicted himself as to what was his place of residence at the time.

The Grievance Committee also reported that Kahn contradicted himself in most of his statements before the Committee.

The case against Kahn was so complete that the members of the Section who expelled Kahn by a vote of 344 to 5 were surprised to hear that Kahn was ordered reinstated by the National Board of Appeals. From this surprise

recovery when Comrade Vogt, the alleged "8th District," made known to us that Comrade Karl Ibsen, a member of the Board, had written him that the Board had obtained from a woman keeping a boarding house the information that there were two Arthur Kahns living there. And he adds: "Finally the fact comes to light that there was no Arthur Kahn enrolled at all." And this startling evidence obtained by correspondence from a woman utterly unknown to the Board was not even made known by the Board to Section New York! What do you think of such a court, Comrades?

Relative to the claim in K. Ibsen's letter, that there was no Kahn enrolled at all, we produce herewith the following extract from the City Record of May 19, 1898.

(Enrollment.)

26th Assembly District, Borough of Manhattan.
12th Election District.

- Kubes, Joseph, 1349 First ave. Rep.
- Manhattan, 304 E. 73d st.
- Kahn, Arthur, 355 East 72d st. DEM.
- Kahnken, Vincent, 338 E. 73d st. Rep.
- Leonard, Mich., 1400 2d ave. Dem.

As to the general character of Arthur Kahn, we would state that he is a Delegate from a pure and simple Bakers' Union to the Central Federated Union, a nest of local labor fakirs and Tammany and Republican politicians, where he has never raised his voice in defense of our party against their vicious attacks; and that a member of the Section testified before the Grievance Committee that Arthur Kahn showed him a letter of recommendation for a job on the Third Avenue Elevated Railroad from a Tammany candidate for Assembly, which would explain his motive for enrolling as a Democrat.

We, therefore, are compelled to appeal to the Comrades throughout the country to help us ridding ourselves of a man who has become intolerable to us and whom we can not admit to the councils of the party without suspicion and fear of treachery.

For Section New York, S. L. P.
L. ABELSON, Organizer.
New York, July 1, 1898.



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X ***
DANIELE DE LEON .SG

RIFORMA O RIVOLUZIONE?

Traduzione di Camillo

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XREPORT

OF THE

National Executive Committee

TO THE

X TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION,

X Socialist Labor Party.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., JANUARY 27th, 1900. 1900 = 1900 = 1900.



COMRADES:-

Your National Executive Committee herewith submits to you a concise review of the history of the Socialist Labor Party during the three years and six months that have elapsed since our last National Convention, together with such recommendations as it deems for the best interests of the party.

The period covered by this report is one of the most eventful of our party, and the problems confronting you at this Convention are of the gravest importance to the Socialist movement in our country.

The National Convention of 1896 adjourned under very bright and promising auspices. The years of incessant and self-sacrificing labor of the pioneers of our movement in this country seemed on a fair way to success: the barriers of unreasoning prejudice against Socialism which had formerly almost seemed insurmountable began gradually to give way before the force of the economic development of this country; the numerous outrages perpetrated by the government on organized labor in several States of the Union had revealed the brutal nature of the "free" capitalist institutions of our country to thousands of American

workingmen; Socialism became a live topic of discussion in the press, at public meetings and in private gatherings, and had finally commenced to take root among native workingmen.

Equally favorable to the development of a sound Socialist movement in this country seemed the few years succeeding our last party convention. The free silver agitation with its train of hollow demagogic phrases and war cries had come and gone, leaving thousands of reasoning -workingmen utterly disgusted with the Democratic party, and the much-heralded era of prosperity to be inaugurated by the Republican party proved, as was to be expected, an era of overwork for the workingmen interrupted only by periods of forced idleness.

This, together with such crying incidents as the Hazelton and Wardner outrages and similar events, together with the loud echo of the great victories achieved during that period by our comrades beyond the sea, could not fail to prepare the ground for a strong and powerful Socialistic movement in this country.

With a wise and faithful administration the party could turn these opportunities to excellent account.

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#136

Constitution

OF THE

Socialist
Labor Party

OF THE
United States
of America



ADOPTED AT THE
Eleventh National Convention
NEW YORK, JULY, 1904

EXTENDED AT THE
Twelfth National Convention
NEW YORK, JULY, 1906

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ADDRESS

#137

SEP 1 1909

Issued by the National Executive Committee
of the Socialist Labor Party, in Semi-
Annual Session Convened,
New York, January
4th, 1909

Price, Five Cents

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
28 City Hall Place New York City

PUBLICATION FILE

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#138

REFORM OR REVOLUTION

ADDRESS Delivered
Under the Auspices
of the People's Union,
at Well's Memorial
Hall, Boston, January
Twenty Six, Eighteen
Ninty Six.

By **DANIEL DE LEON.**

Published by the
National Executive
Committee.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
45 Rose Street
NEW YORK CITY

1919



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The Russian Soviets #139

AND

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**The American Socialist
Labor Party**



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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
48 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK
1919**

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Constitution

OF THE

Socialist

Labor Party

OF THE

United States
 of America



ADOPTED AT THE
Eleventh National Convention
NEW YORK, JULY, 1904

AMENDED AT THE
National Conventions
New York, 1908, '12, '16, '20

W. of Labor News Co

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MANIFESTO #141

OF THE
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TO THE
WORKING CLASS OF AMERICA

**CHANGING TIDES
AROUND THE ROCK OF GIBRALTAR**

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**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY**
48 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK
1920

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De Leon-Berry Debate

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Solution of the Trust Problem

DANIEL DE LEON

Late Editor New York Weekly People
Presenting Socialist Side

WILLIAM H. BERRY

Ex-State Treasurer of Pennsylvania,
Presenting Small Capitalist Side.

PRICE 15 CENTS

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NEW YORK

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**Socialist Party
Fusion, Compromise,
and Political Trading**



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National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
45 Rose St., New York, N. Y.

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Socialist Party
Fusion, Compromise,
and Political Trading



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Socialist Party
Fusion, Compromise,
and Political Trading



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~~✱~~ Socialist Party
~~✱~~ Fusion, Compromise,
~~✱~~ and Political Trading

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#146



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Socialist Party
Fusion, Compromise,
and Political Trading



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Don't stop.

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563

#148

Vote for the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

For President, JOHN W. AIKEN

For Vice President, AARON M. ORANGE

Workers: Watch Your Liberties!

One hundred and fifty years ago John Curran uttered the warning: "The condition upon which God has given liberty to man is eternal vigilance."

The Socialist Labor Party has no possession by the American workers. They were wrested from tyranny by our forebears at the toll of rivers of blood. But the Socialist Labor Party tends to become a hollow mockery in the measure that capitalist class rule degenerates.

All history demonstrates that general assaults upon the citadel of civil liberties are preceded by repeated forays and flank attacks. The plan is to reary the people until they can no longer arouse spirit for defense. Such a plan is in operation today.

In state legislatures throughout the land bills have been submitted and furtively passed without debate or publicity which raise insurmountable barriers to placing the candidates of minority parties on the ballots. Their wording is suspiciously similar and the

manner in which they are passed is so uniformly stealthy as to leave little doubt of the existence of a concerted and coordinated conspiracy.

In state and national legislatures a veritable anti-alien hysteria has

year. Alien deportation bills, proposals for fingerprinting aliens and establishing concentration camps for undeportable aliens, and bills which aim to introduce the hated European system of internal passports, recall

and spy-hunts in which the rights of citizens and aliens alike were ruthlessly trampled on.

Representative Dies's Dream.



The "Non-Subversive" Elements

Are you "subversive"? According to the chairman of the Dies Committee you are if you (a) believe workers have the right to strike; (b) want a better social system wherein life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will be real and not mockery; (c) oppose war; (d) criticize the Dies Committee, etc., etc.

The sinister reestablishment of the General Intelligence Bureau (anti-alien squad) of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, by special order of the President, also recalls the malodorous regime of A. Mitchell Palmer. This bureau possesses all the earmarks of a nascent Nazi Gestapo or a Russian Oppu. We declare that, whatever the avowed purpose of this bureau, its real purpose is to harass individuals and minority groups who hold divergent political views, thus creating in America the hateful practice of punishing people for mere opinions.

Not furtively, but with vulgar ostentation, the Congressional Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, popularly known as the Dies Committee, rides roughshod

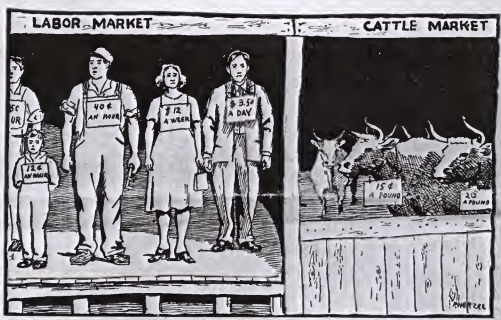
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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA

#149

Is Labor a Commodity?

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Labor "on the hoof."

Cattle "on the hoof."

"Labor [labor power] is like any other commodity in the market—increases the demand for it, and you increase the price of it." (Abraham Lincoln, Annual Message, December, 1862.)

"The distinguishing sign of slavery is to have a price, and to be bought for it." (John Ruskin.)

I.
Capitalism is the name given the social system under which the land, machinery, railroads and all the means of production are owned privately by a small ruling class, while the vast majority operate these means of production in the service of the few owners. How the few came to own without working, while the vast majority work without owning, is too long a story for recital

here. Let us consider the facts just stated, which no rational and honest person can, or would care to, deny. The vast majority are people who work for a wage—if or when they find work! Having no possessions, the means of production being held in private and exclusive ownership by the few (the capitalists), these millions of propertyless persons (the wage workers) must go to the owners and beg them for permission to use the machines and plants of production in general. The capitalists will, in effect, say to these workers: "We own this land, these railroads, these mines, these oil wells, this machinery, etc., etc; but they are useless to us without labor, or labor power. On the other hand, you have

labor power, or ability to work at some job or other, but that labor power is no use to you unless you have access to the land and machines, etc., which we own, but can't operate ourselves. Very well, we will make a deal with you: If you will agree to work for us, and let us keep all you produce, we will pay you back just enough to enable you to live and raise a family. Experience demonstrates, and our experts estimate, that in two hours you can produce what you need in order to live and raise a family. We will allow you to keep for yourself what you produce in those two hours of labor, provided you will continue for six hours more, we to keep for ourselves everything you produce in

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An Open Letter To Senator Overman

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#150

(Reprinted from Weekly People, February 22, 1919.)

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

Senator Lee S. Overman,
Chairman of Senate Judiciary
Committee,
Washington, D. C.
Sir:—

In the name of the Socialist Labor Party, we take the liberty of addressing you, as the head of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, a Committee which during the last weeks has aroused much attention throughout the country. Your Committee has been authorized and instructed by the United States Senate to investigate the so-called Bolshevik propaganda which is said to have reached gigantic proportions in this country.

The wide, unscrutinized, often misleading information given to the public in these days leaves us in a quandary as to how far and to what class of organizations this investigation and the consequences following thereupon are to be pushed. Holding to the strict literal interpretation of Senate resolution No. 307 the investigation can not by any stretch of the imagination concern the Socialist Labor Party, except inasmuch as we are naturally and intensely interested in any restriction or interference with the freedom of expression and agitation. It has been repeatedly stated, however, that your Committee is by the said resolution empowered to investigate every class of propaganda, and as the name of the Socialist Labor Party has, for reasons to which we will refer later, been closely coupled to that of the Russian Soviet Republic, there would appear to be small doubt but that the S. L. P. too has been listed in the class of undesirable which you and your fellow Senators are engaged in running to the ground. Moreover, it is a deplorable fact, that not only is the estrained public mind, but also in the mind of the majority of the members of the United States Congress, there exists such a state of

confusion on social science and so much lack of historic information upon the intricate windings and the severe struggles which have taken place within the ranks of labor during the last century, that words and designations are employed haphazard and as synonymous which are completely antithetical in meaning—as Anarchism, Socialism, I. W. W., Industrial Democracy, Bolshevism, etc. For all these reasons we have decided to make a plain and open statement of the position of the Socialist Labor Party. We do this in order to notify you, in the first place, that we have nothing to hide; that our literature and agitation are open and above board; that the Socialist Labor Party preserves order in its ranks and adheres to its principles and tactics, that, therefore, if you should brand the Socialist Labor Party "a criminal organization," every member thereof is a "criminal" and, vice versa, should you find the S. L. P. to be, what we know it to be, an organization within the laws of the land and a political party as "legal" as that to which you, Sir, claim adherence, then every member, as long as he adheres to the Socialist Labor Party's principles and tactics, must be allowed to proceed unmolested with his work of propaganda.

Sir, permit us to state our case plainly and without equivocation: The Socialist Labor Party of America is a revolutionary political party; its membership believes in Industrial Unionism and Industrial Democracy; and in theory and the principles of social reconstruction the Socialist Labor Party is more closely related to the Russian Bolsheviks than any other party or organization in this country. But, Sir, do not judge our case hastily at this juncture. We have stated that utter confusion exists even in your august body as to the terms employed in strict social science, and we shall, therefore, beg your in-

dulgence while we explain this bill of particulars in further detail.

The Socialist Labor Party is a revolutionary organization. In this day and age, and above all to an American and an American legislator, it certainly should not be necessary to apologize for, nor even to define, the word revolution. So tremendous, is the confusion of ideas, however, that the word is continually coupled with murder, bloodshed, anarchy, arson, and a general reign of terror. We shall, therefore, take no chances of being misunderstood. Technically, and as employed by the Socialist Labor Party, revolution means a fundamental and internal change in government. The particular change which the Socialist Labor Party advocates is a change from the capitalist class-ownership to the social ownership of the means of production, with the management and control lodged with the workers themselves, the power originating from below, in the industries. Hence we hold that under such a system the present Political State with all its trappings and machinery must die out or be abolished, while its place is taken by an industrial government, a government of things instead of men. It is plain that the political ballot would have no further function. The industrial ballot would take its place. The voting would be done on the basis of industry and industrial employment, and, accordingly, could be exercised by workers only. But, Sir, as private ownership is the means of production would naturally cease, there would remain no way of exploitation, no profits, no windfalls, no bonuses, no stock-gambling, and, therefore, in order to live each and every able-bodied person of proper age would be forced to perform some kind of useful labor. Therefore, as some of mediaeval folks learned—probably from necessity—that "he who will not work neither shall he eat," they would

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SOCIALIST PRODUCTION
AND
COLLAPSE OF CAPITALISM

MANIFESTO OF THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA
MAY 1922

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
NEW YORK

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Socialist Production

and
Collapse of Capitalism



Manifesto of the
Socialist Labor Party
of America.

May, 1922

*Necessity of Socialist Industrial Unionism
To Effect the Socialist Reconstruction of
Society. The Working Class Cannot Wield
State Machinery for Its Own Purposes.*

Published by the
National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
New York

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page A

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY #153

AGAINST THE FIELD



Farmer-Labor Party Invitation to
Unity Convention Declined.

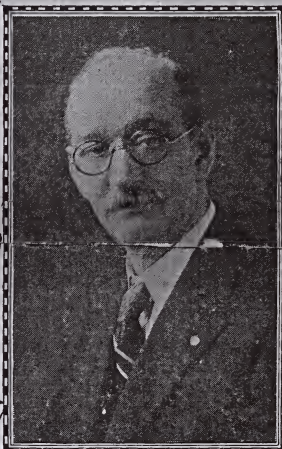
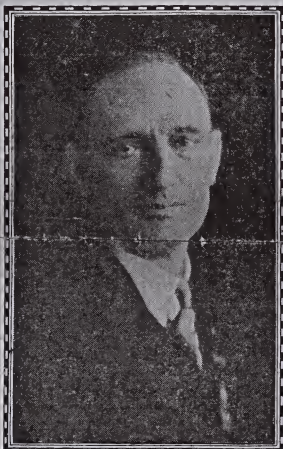
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#154

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES



FOR PRESIDENT
WILLIAM W. COX
OF MISSOURI



FOR VICE PRESIDENT
AUGUST GILLHAUS
OF NEW YORK

By Transfer
FEB 20 1925

INDUSTRIALIST PARTY
S. L. P.
OF PENNA.

By Transmittal
FEB 20 1925

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"AMERICANIZATION"

Propaganda and Counter-Propaganda

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Some time ago we heard a prominent newspaper man remark: "We are just waking up to the fact that we must pay attention to the labor movement in all its ramifications. As a whole we have until recently been completely ignorant of the thinking and the activity in the ranks of labor, not considering these of any importance whatsoever. We are commencing to realize that there are currents stirring which may have historic significance."

But the press, including the pure fiction and the moving picture magazines, is not the only "we" who have awakened of late to the necessity of "paying attention" to the labor movement in all its ramifications. Business organizations, the pulpit, the stage, particularly the moving picture stage, the lecture platform, the charity organizations—every institution, in fact, that carries with it the possibility of being an agency for the molding of public opinion—is feeling the necessity of having a finger in labor's pie. Broadly speaking, therefore, "we" stands for the whole of society outside of what is popularly designated as the "labor movement" and even a goodly portion of that; narrowly speaking, "we" represents the capitalist class, and the actively engaged "we" are but its agents—more or less conscious.

Should any one imagine that for the press to "pay attention to the labor movement" would mean a determined resolve to do all in its power to disseminate truthful infor-

mation about labor's thoughts and actions he may as well be disillusioned at the very outset. The capitalist press and other agencies that have been set in motion recently to disseminate "information" concerning labor's activities, either by outright lies, misstatements, exaggerations or suppressions of essential facts, are individually and collectively engaged in furthering a subtle and vicious anti-labor, more specifically, anti-revolutionary labor propaganda. So systematic and well-

aganned that it is impossible to doubt that it is consciously directed from a central fountain-head.

This propaganda takes several distinct shapes and purposes, and together it is undoubtedly designed to cover every possible branch of labor's activity.

General Anti-Union Propaganda.

The "harmony of capital and labor" proclaimed by the A. F. of L. has never been angelically complete. When abuses and grievances accumulated too rapidly, labor would kick over the traces in spite of the sermons or threats of its leaders, and though large groups of employers found it cheaper and more convenient all around to dicker with, bribe, and buy off the labor fakers than to face sustained strikes and labor troubles, or even the continuous "labor turnover" of less responsible or more discontented workers, probably the large mass of employers, certainly the small employers and some of the most powerful ones, never ceased to look upon the union—even the most con-

servative union—as an emphatic nuisance. These employers, undoubtedly guided by the central fountain-head, have in recent years declared open war upon the American Federation of Labor. All other unions—conservative and otherwise—are, of course, included. But the A. F. of L. being the largest seller of labor is the center of the attack.

Directly this propaganda takes the form of the campaign for "the open shop," in other words, against all labor organizations on principle. Indirectly the above mentioned are pressed into the service of this laudable work. The campaign takes two forms—(1) the open fight against the union, by lockouts, discharges, court decisions and pressure brought to bear on other concerns, such as that exercised by the Steel Trust by refusing to furnish material to concerns employing union labor; (2) by subtle propaganda to mold the worker's mind. By printed and spoken word, on the stage and on the screen, the labor faker is shown up in his very worst color, and as a rule there is not much need of adding color. It is subtly "proven" that under the influence of the "walking delegate" the worker becomes a "loafer on the job," the good boss is about to fail, in which case thousands of workers would face unemployment and starvation. By some miracle or other the workers are brought to their senses, commence to work in harmony with and to the interest of their employer, the union is discarded as worse than useless, and all live prosperously forever after. On the screen and in the magazine story there is

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Constitution

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Socialist

Labor Party

OF THE
United States
of America



ADOPTED AT THE

Eleventh National Convention

NEW YORK, JULY, 1904

AMENDED AT THE

National Conventions

New York,

1908, '12, '16, '20, '24, '28.

156

#157

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ARM & HAMMER PAMPHLETS

No. ELEVEN



FEB

19

Unemployment and "Overproduction"

WORKERS UNEMPLOYED
AND STARVING BECAUSE
THEY PRODUCE TOO MUCH.
THE CAUSE AND REMEDY.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

1930

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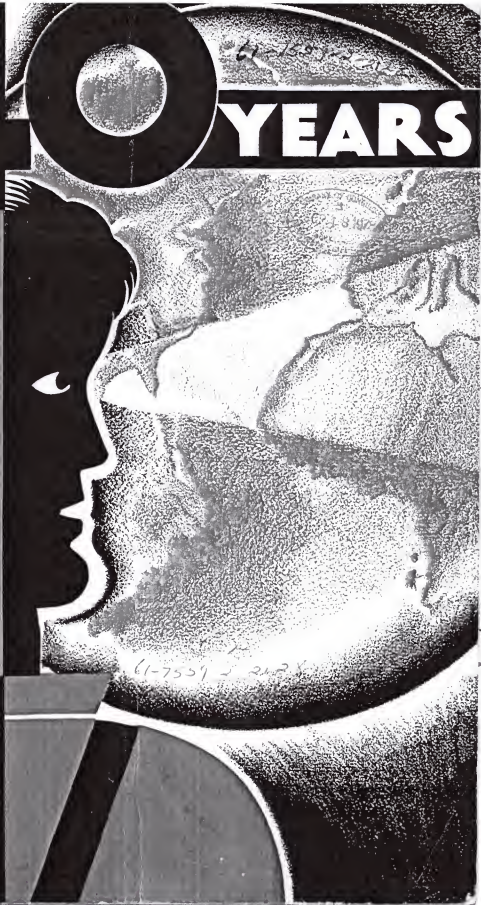
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#158

**FOUR
DECADES
OF THE
SOCIALIST
LABOR
PARTY.**

of America

YEARS



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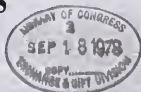
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Party Ownership of the Press

#159



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Party Ownership of the Press

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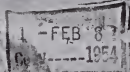


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**CAPITALISM
DEFENDS
ITSELF**

#161
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THROUGH
THE

**SOCIALIST
LABOR
PARTY**

By
M. J.
OLGIN

3c

VOTE THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY TICKET

FOR PRESIDENT VERNE L. REYNOLDS & JOHN WAIKEN
FOR VICE PRESIDENT



The Industrial Union

THE REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON.

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The Socialist Industrial Union organizes each plant of production into ONE union, that is the unit, which would correspond to the present county. All the units in the land that yield the same output are combined into ONE national union which would correspond to the present state. All the national unions are combined into ONE all-embracing union, which corresponds to the present nation. Now, then, tailors and barbers employed in a hotel belong, together with all the useful labor of that plant, to ONE union, of whatever name may be chosen with an eye to the nature of the plant, and that unit is a member of the corresponding national union. Similarly with floor sweepers and engineers employed in the clothing industry. Of course tailors and barbers employed in a hotel, floor sweepers and engineers employed in a clothing plant, may or may not be organized into subdivisions of the respective units. Whether necessary or not is a matter of practical application, dependent upon a variety of circumstances.

—DANIEL DE LEON.

Tactics Become Important.

In a revolutionary period in history, when mankind stands at the forking of the roads between an outworn social order and a new order, the question how becomes every bit as important as the question what. If it is once conceded that capitalism is no longer able to function so as adequately to feed, clothe and house the mass of the people and that the only social system that can possibly take its place is Socialism, i.e., the collective ownership and operation of modern machines of production together with the social ownership and distribution of the products of labor, then the natural query that presents itself to the mind is: How are we going to get it?

What Is Social Revolution?

It is self-evident that the capitalist owners of industry and exploiters of labor are not just going to hand over what they consider their pri-

vate property to their workers and step out. Social changes, social revolutions, do not occur that way. Revolutions take place only when the old order is so corrupt, so outworn, so inefficient that it neither has room for further expansion, further benefit to progress, nor further possibility of keeping the people within it decently alive. But it is important to know that even when such a time arrives for a social system, the benefactors of it, its rulers and its powers, having become parasitic—the nature of a parasite is that of a bloodsucker—they will hang on to their prey and to the system that nourishes them until they are forcibly pruned loose. The capitalist will be no exception; he cannot be. To cling to the system, to continue to exploit the working class, is the nature of the capitalist beast. "If he would be free must" himself strike the blow."

Organization Inevitable.

In order to save themselves from the present wage slavery and establish Socialism, the workers must organize. In organization, in unity alone, is there strength. And in a revolutionary period there is strength only in the organization whose principles and tactics head strictly and firmly for the goal.

The organization of the American revolutionary working class must be twofold. First, the revolutionary political party of Socialism, the Socialist Labor Party. The function of the revolutionary party of Socialism is to educate the workers, to stir them to action to accomplish the goal. The Socialist Labor Party places itself firmly upon the institutions of civilization, the right of political agitation and the ballot, and under these shields of civilization it gathers its forces for the overthrow of the political robbery of capitalism, the Political State, the present class government, and for the establishment in its place of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

But the Socialist Labor Party knows only too well that in the Political State the capitalists have all

the cards stacked against the working class and the Socialist Revolution.

Political Rights Must Be Backed Up.

In the first place, the political benchmark of capitalism can and no doubt will attempt to count us out. But, as De Leon put it, "They may monkey with the thermometer but they cannot thereby change the weather"—the gathering revolutionary storm cannot be stopped by discounting ballots. They may attempt not to seat the candidates of the workers. And they can do more; they can and no doubt will call upon the police force, the army, the navy, the air fleet, to rout out the Revolution. Of all these forces, the capitalists and their henchmen are, of course, in full command until the workers have become victorious. What then? If we would win we must meet might with might; force with force. Again how?

Barricades Obsolete.

It is self-evident that the workers cannot train an army to cope with the army of the nation. In many places, the people have not even the right to carry a gun, let alone to drill masses for revolutionary purposes. The day of street barricades is past, as ancient and obsolete as the bow and arrow. Not only are the modern guns able to sweep an avenue for miles but the air fleet can scatter explosives over the heads of any group of rebels foolish enough to trust to brickbats and barricades. The day of the force that lies in violence is over. Where, then, can the workers look for the necessary force to carry out their revolution?

Labor's Might.

There is only one place where the might of the workers of today is greater by the million times than the might of the capitalist class. And that is in industry. That economic power is the real power is pretty well understood today, even

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**"ALL POWER TO THE
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REFORM OR REVOLUTION

1-FEB 87
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DANIEL DE LEON

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY

NEW YORK N.Y.





1ST of MAY

Published by the **SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY**

VOTE SOCIAL LABOR PARTY



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PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

Preamble.

The capitalist system has outlived its usefulness. If progress is to be the order of society in the future as in the past, this outworn system **MUST** give way to a new social order. Social development points in but one direction—to an Industrial Union Government, an administration of things in place of a political rule over men.

The avowed purpose of governments is to insure life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to the useful members of society. Whenever a given social system, and its corresponding government, fails in or becomes destructive of these ends, it has outlived its usefulness, rendering it imperative for the exploited and oppressed class to organize its forces to put an end to the outworn economic and political system. This historic duty and necessity now confront the working class of America.

Social systems and their corresponding forms of government come into being as results of social and economic forces. The history of mankind has been the history of class struggles, with Progress ever as the aim. Ancient autocracies fell before ancient republics, the slave labor systems gave way to feudalism, feudalism broke down before the onslaught of capitalism. Capitalism, with its concomitant—wage slavery—is the world system which

has been the vanguard of progress through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the United States of America capitalism has reached the highest point of development; here also may be traced the most rapid decay.

When a ruling class can no longer live and exploit as previously; and the exploited class can no longer be fed and cared for while rendering useful social service, the hour of Social Revolution has struck.

At this crucial period, accordingly, the Socialist Labor Party, in National Convention assembled, April 27, 1936, reaffirms its former platform pronouncements and, in accord with international Socialist principles, declares:

Capitalism Working Its Own Destruction.

For close to a decade now, millions of the working class have had to be fed by the exploiting masters, instead of, as heretofore, feeding and keeping the masters in luxury. The richest country in the world, with the highest degree of productivity in the world, has been turned into a gigantic poorhouse, with vast numbers of its useful and able workers turned into mendicants, suppliants for a hand-out to keep body and soul together. History's pages record no greater disgrace than this.

A decaying system creates nothing

so surely as its own grave-diggers. The germs of destruction are active within American capitalism. Competition is the very life of capitalism; markets constitute the indispensable condition for its continued existence.

No Hope of Advancement Under the Present System.

The early termination of capitalism was clearly indicated when the fact was revealed that a few giant corporations virtually control the entire production and distribution machinery of the nation. "Engaged individualism" has gone by the board. There is no possibility for the "average man" to become a capitalist. The small farmer, the small manufacturer, and the business man with small capital who still hangs on, are perpetually on the verge of bankruptcy. In most cases the farmer is but a tenant farmer or a "sharecropper" working for some banking house; the small business man is but a repair man or an agent of some large corporation.

Limit of Internal Expansion Reached.

The markets, foreign and domestic, are becoming extinct. A social system will flourish only while there is room within it for expansion. The possibilities for expansion in the United States of America seemed unlimited during its first 150 years.

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Manifesto

On War

Decay and
Corruption of
International Capitalism

355

Issued October 1907 by the
Socialist Labor Party of America

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Manifesto On War

And Decay and Corruption of International Capitalism

ISSUED OCTOBER 1937 BY THE
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA

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For similar as is the struggle, and the cause, and the motive of this struggle, with respect to competing economic systems within each nation, and the struggle of competing nations on the international field of capitalism the latter by no means presents the simple aspect and clarity indicated course of the former. For with the former the struggle is purely economic, even in so far as it is understood by political, or legal-economic, means, and the power of the State, enforcing order, while, in the case of the former, it is a struggle of ideas, of ideas, of ideas, and obviously must be, at this stage, born out of

to find a place to the succeeding systems of society. In the case of capitalism as a social system is no more eternal than was feudalism whence it sprang. And feudalism was as transitory as was the absolute slavery of antiquity which preceded feudalism. And none of these social systems compare in point of longevity with ancient communism, the designation given to social beginnings, which knew nothing of capital, slavery, political government, or private property in any form, but which did practice equality and fraternity, albeit on a low economic plane.

Capitalism grew out of feudalism. But it took many centuries before capitalism, the origin of which may be dated roughly from the middle of the 15th century, could emerge as a functioning and dominant social system. The great struggles, the bloody wars, and long wars that laid waste large areas of Europe, particularly since the 16th century, were the direct results of the slowly emerging capitalism struggling to establish itself, hemmed in on all sides by feudal restrictions. Capitalism heralded the dawn of the modern era. It led into the world caused profound revolutions in ethical and religious concepts, in the arts, in political relations, and, of course, in economics. Rightly has the age which witnessed the initial beginnings of capitalism been called the *Age of the Renaissance*, i.e., the age of rebirth. That age was as turbulent as is the present age of turmoil and worldwide disorder and chaos. And logical it is that this is so, seeing that the Renaissance witnessed the birth of capitalism, while our age witnesses the decay of capitalism.

during the age-long struggle between the nascent capitalism, and the decaying feudal system there were "compromises," who wished to benefit by the blessing of the new system allowing, without surrendering the rights and prerogatives of the old order. It would speak of the next breath they would exhale in what follows.

And even many who had internalized that feudalism (that is to say, the obvious features and manifestations of feudalism) was corrupt, and that it ought to be destroyed, hesitated to shake the plume from the old to the new. But neither traditions, tested feudal rights, nor all the power of capitalism, which found itself in a serious march against the old, could prevent the inevitable, and, unfortunately, largely political end, in all circumstances, of the old, as such.

Having grown to maturity, having thoroughly reached old age capitalism is now in the final stages of decay and dissolution. The process is a natural one, inevitable, only, and yet that, like those who prefigure it, the capitalist system itself is afraid of it. As well as trying to stave the last years off for a while, and to suppress its own power, it is also trying to make the most of its last days. The evolution of capitalism is taken for its purpose.²

understanding of their class interests and class mission, stand in the way of putting into effect, but on an infinitely higher plane, the equality and fraternity of ancient communism, the "Golden Age" of man.

—

The workers produce all social wealth. Under the system of capitalism they are inceptually brought to the status of commodities. They are, in effect, bought and sold in the labor market, essentially as the chattel and slave was bought and sold in the slave market, or as cotton and textiles are bought and sold in the cotton and textile markets. The worker under capitalism is, to be sure, nominally a free man, and the equal of men of wealth. His "freedom" and "equality" are of a quality similar to the nominal equality before the law.

Concerning which a famous Frenchman wrote: "The law, in its majestic grandeur, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under the same roof, to beg in the streets and to steal bread."¹ Paraphrasing this, we can say that labor captivation, in its inessential workings, permits the rich to sleep under the same roof, to beg in the streets and to steal bread in the labor market as the very poor. The rich, in this sense, do not, self themselves in the market, that is, they do not, as the workers, *enter*, and do, self themselves, that is, they labor power, or their ability to perform some (productive task) in the labor market, *produce*. It would then be fair to say that they cannot find buyers for their labor power, and therefore their labor itself becomes free to find buyers. This is the case of the existence of the labor market under capitalism, who assert that labor is not a commodity, or article of commerce. And, by way of contrast, let it be noted that no one has as yet advanced the claim that there is *also* a slave market as a slave market, a exotic or racial labor market, where slaves are bought and sold, where these slaves are bought and sold, where *also* labor is a commodity in the labor market.²

[illegible]

"Have-Nots" nations—are holdest and most ruthless in their demands. They are also the nations which have the least to offer. They follow capitalistic nations when Socialism is rejected and the world is divided. Capitalist apologists invariably blame the World War for the present world anarchy, forgetting that the World War was itself the logical result of the competition of capitalist nations. Just like the competition of capitalist nations, victors and vanquished being alike, the victors of the World War have not been able to find any just excuses to point out that Italy and Japan were early allied with gangster governments on the side of the victorious allies, as against their present ally, fascist Germany. Caught in the coils of the struggling and dying social system, finding it impossible to live within the restricted conditions of their economic system, and having failed (for whatever reason) to establish a new order, the peoples of these countries had to accept the only other alternative, absolutism, or industrial holocaust. And when the Political State had supreme sway, absolut-

... on under whatever name (fascism, "National-Sozialismus", etc.) either is the only form of government, or will so become eventually. The resort to absolutism is an almost instinctive act, induced by the most primitive of promptings, the law of self-preservation. When present social bonds snap before new and superior ones, the individual is left to himself, and he is then inclined to transform what was once a social order into absolute chaos and anarchy. The only absolute power, the only power that will be the final result, did not abolish the old order, but it transformed it into a new order, a new order of regeneration and saving, a world of absolute domination and social re-integration. Loss of freedom is the price to pay for unpreparedness in native social order.

They cannot, regardless of wishes of groups or individuals, industrialize, modernize, and democratize in half a century. They must, therefore, find a way to combine a complete exercise of full democracy—social and economic—to the utmost extent they advocate their sovereign power to the utmost extent among the ruling class, and to the poorest elements among the ruling class. They must, therefore, proceed, in keeping with *their* class interests. Italy, Japan etc. have either willingly accepted, helplessly suffered, the absolutism of their countries, or have such a form of government alone is able to act, as such, with the power of a collective unit, without loss of individuality. The democratic tendency has been lost, and the result is a complete loss of individuality. The loss of individuality, and the resulting lack of normalcy, creates delay and induces doubts and uncertainty. Moreover, in fascist countries the workers do not feel they have anything to lose through war, and the economy is reduced to the lowest level possible. The only way to overcome this is to have a government in which (as they are told) through conquest of an enemy nation or nations, the chief of the game is governing one's opponent with the ideas of generosity and not the ideas of savagery and ruthlessness, or

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Capitalism vs. Socialism

by Daniel De Leon



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Capitalism

vs.

Socialism

by Daniel De Leon



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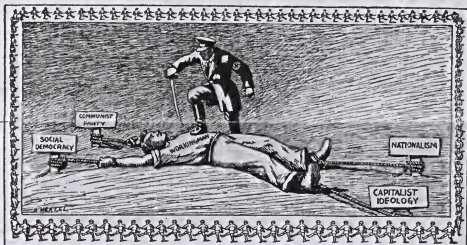
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The Fascist Menace



The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one attacks, or who win shouts of applause by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mob, conspiracy, or single tyrant put in jeopardy, who contend for liberty in that particular form which is threatened for the moment by the many or the few.

—William Ellery Channing.

Can fascism happen here?

Ten years ago our answer might have been a laugh, or a careless shrug of the shoulders. Today all thinking workers admit that America faces a crisis of the first magnitude; that out of this crisis we

shall emerge either as free citizens of a Socialist Industrial Republic, or as miserable economic serfs under an Industrial Feudal regime, the American variety of fascism.

There is no middle ground, no compromise; the choice lies between Socialism and Fascism. It is up to the working class to make this momentous decision.

Today, as citizens of a capitalist democracy we have certain rights supposedly guaranteed by the Constitution. But as wage workers we are completely enslaved. Whatever economic freedom we may seem to have because of our legal right to

leave one employer and seek another does not dispute this fact. Indeed, it lends weight to the contention that we are wage slaves, for we are compelled to seek a new employer the moment we leave the old one. Our economic dependence on the capitalist class is absolute!

The two conditions, political freedom and economic slavery, cannot be reconciled. As long as we possess the rights of free speech, free press, public assemblage, and the further right to amend the Constitution even to the point of amending it out of existence—as long as we possess these rights, we are

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Constitution

OF THE

Socialist

Labor Party

OF THE

United States
of America



ADOPTED AT THE

Eleventh National Convention

NEW YORK, JULY, 1904

AMENDED AT THE

National Conventions

New York

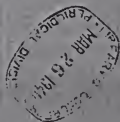
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WAR and POVERTY

The Brood of Capitalism

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**1940
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*... No Peace
without
Socialism!*

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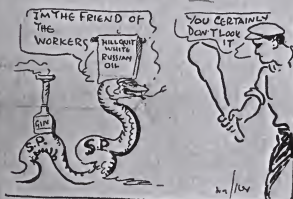
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**Last Bulwark of
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By MOISSAYE J. OLGIN



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Marxism

vs.

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Reformism

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Socialist
Reconstruction
of Society



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WHAT SOCIALISM MEANS



Peace,
Plenty,
And Freedom
FOR YOU!

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You've read the lies about

SOCIALISM

#1184

... now read the facts



Vote SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

YOU'VE READ THE LIE that Socialism would result in the loss of individual liberty; that all power would be surrendered to the State or the government, and a harsh bureaucracy would regulate our lives and enforce blind obedience.

THE FACT IS that Socialism rejects the State! Socialists hold with Karl Marx that "The existence of the State is inseparable from the existence of slavery." How, then, in the name of common sense, could Socialists wish to glorify the State and sur-

render to it? On the contrary—where there is Socialism, there can be no State, and where there is a State, there can be no Socialism! Socialist government will rest on industrial democracy. All power will reside in the hands of the people. Their representatives—elected democratically from industry—will have the privilege of serving, but not the power of ruling over, their industrial constituents.

YOU'VE READ THE LIE that Socialism means nationalization, or government owner-

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#185

A Do-It-Yourself Plan for Labor

How to Build A Sane World

Today, "Do It Yourself" plans are very popular, having been widely publicized in almost every field of endeavor. However, in the political and economic world we are expected never to "Do It Ourselves." "Let leaders do it," we are advised. Professional "labor leaders" and paid economists do our thinking for us in economics. Politicians do our deciding in governmental matters.

The Socialist Labor Party is the only organization with a "Do It Yourself" plan in government and economics. We alone have warned of the dangers of dependence on "leaders." For 66 years we have explained that since the American working class is intelligent enough to plan, design, build and operate the wonderful industries throughout the land, it is also intelligent enough to own and administer those same productive forces through self-government in

the democracy of Socialism.

HOW SOCIALISM IS MISREPRESENTED

You may never before have heard Socialism described as a democracy. *Socialism* is one of the most lied-about and misrepresented words in common usage today. Many believe that it means State ownership or State bureaucratic control of business. In fact, all an "economist" or politician has to do nowadays to get publicity is to give a speech on how any or all of the governmental controls and regulations are leading us toward "Socialism." If that were "Socialism," or if the Russian bureaucratic regime were "Socialism," we wouldn't want it; we would be unalterably opposed to it.

Another fact that many do not realize is that Socialism has never existed, nor does it now exist anywhere in the world. Socialism can-



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Race Prejudice

... WHY?

Who benefits from it?

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The 1954 Supreme Court antisegregation decision is not the cause of the virulent racism now boiling up throughout much of the segregated South. By ordering an end to segregation of Negroes and whites in the schools, the Court merely brought to a head a condition that has long been festering and that still festers. This condition, as all thoughtful people know, is not a product of human nature. It is rooted, rather, in economics. To put it bluntly racism survives in this country, especially in the South where Negroes are most numerous, because some people derive an

economic benefit from it, because it PAYS!

But whom does it pay? This is a key question. When we can answer it we are on the track of a real and permanent cure for this vicious social disease.

WHITE WORKERS' PENALTY: LOW WAGES

Does it pay the white workers of the South? Superficial evidence to the contrary notwithstanding, the answer is "No!" True, racism (which segregation helps to keep alive) tends to keep Negroes in the least desirable jobs, reserving the better jobs for whites. But the general level of white workers'



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AUTOMATION:

What Must Workers Do About It?

What *should* workers do about automation? Our capitalist employers say we should do nothing. They tell us not to worry, that new machines make more jobs than they destroy, that they make work easier, cleaner and more interesting, and that, at worst, if we're replaced by automation the "dislocation" will be temporary.

What do *you* think?

Do you think capitalists would install automatic, self-adjusting machines at a cost of millions if it made *more* jobs? Or does or-

dinary common sense tell you the net effect *must* be **FEWER JOBS?**

**"TEMPORARY" CAN BE
A LONG TIME**

And what kind of comfort is there in this assurance that job "dislocations" caused by automation are "temporary"? For workers over 40 a "temporary dislocation" is a long time even when business is good. When business is bad — when capitalism has no war going and the unsold surpluses pile up — it won't make much difference



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Common Sense

and the

H-BOMB

We urgently need some common sense thinking on the H-bomb.

Let's begin with facts on which everyone agrees:

Fact number one is that the H-bomb is not "just another weapon"; it is a weapon of mass extermination. A single hydrogen explosion could wipe out a city as big as New York, kill most of its inhabitants, set fires a hundred

miles away, and spread a silent but deadly radioactive fallout over an area of thousands of square miles.

Both Sides Have H-Bombs

Fact number two is that both sides of the East-West struggle have huge arsenals stocked with H-bombs and other nuclear weapons, and they have the means to deliver them to targets anywhere in the world. Both sides, in other



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The Promise Of Socialism

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ERIO HASS
For President



**VOTE UNDER THE
ARM AND HAMMER
FOR PLENTY,
PEACE AND
FREEDOM**



GEORGIA COZZINI
For Vice President



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WAR... WHY?

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Will there be another war?

Some people believe that there will be no war because American capitalism and Russian State despotism both possess atomic-hydrogen bombs. The Socialist Labor Party does not entirely share that belief.

While it is true that the fearful destructiveness of atomic-hydrogen bombs acts as a deterrent to the outbreak of global war, there is no certainty that a third world war may not break out in spite of this. For even though the capitalist class (in the interest of preserving its system of exploitation) may

wish to avert such a war, no one can be sure that a mad Hitler or a ruthless Stalin, or an American plutocratic puppet usurping political power, may not precipitate action that would start such a war. *For capitalism means war.*

As long as the basic cause of war—capitalism—remains, we will continue living under the constant threat of war.

The urgent need, then, is to get the correct answers to two important questions: (1) *What is the basic cause of war?* (2) *How can the cause of war be removed?*

The Marxian Socialist answer is



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CAPITALISM IS NO BARGAIN!

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Are you "shopping around" for the political program to vote for next November? How high a price will you be forced to pay if you choose "bargain" politics?

You're going to hear plenty of offers for "package deals" in political speeches during the coming months. The Republicans and Democrats have put on their "big shows" on TV and radio to sell you their "bill of goods," each with the hope you'll buy their political brand at the ballot box. But since the contents of their platforms are really the same, it is only the labels and the pictures on the labels that you have to choose from. You will not improve your country's status, nor your individual chances for a better future by voting for either party or its individual politicians.

The Socialist Labor Party is the only party that offers no "bargains," that "sells" you no promises. We have the only program that says, "There is a whole new, free, abundant world that is yours for the taking," and then tells you how to obtain it. We call upon you, the useful members of society — you who create the material and cultural wealth that make this country great — you who are the working class — to reconstruct society, to provide "new safeguards for future happiness." In short,

we call upon the workers to establish Socialism.

Before deciding on any change, however, you must first have come to the conclusion that what you have had is either inadequate or obsolete. You must also be sure that the change will mean improvement, progress. The Socialist Labor Party asks you to examine carefully the programs of every political party in this campaign, to prove for yourselves that capitalism and its government have outlived their usefulness. They are as inadequate in our atomic-electronic age as horse-and-buggy traffic rules would be in governing jet air travel conditions.

What Socialism Is NOT!

But merely to wish for a change from capitalism to Socialism is not enough. There must be an understanding of what Socialism is and how it can be attained, or the progressward step will not be made. We do not want to make the mistake the British workers made in electing politicians who called themselves "Socialists," only to keep the economic structure of capitalism and the political State intact. Certainly, State or government ownership is not the answer, for totalitarian Japan owned railroads,

Vote **SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY**



Vote SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY



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THE 1956 PLATFORM OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

• The Socialist Labor Party of America, in National Convention assembled on the 6th day of May, 1956, reaffirms its previous platform pronouncements and declares:

Humanity stands today on the threshold of a new social order. The old order—capitalism—is doomed; it is an outmoded system shot through with fatal contradictions. For the time being, the capitalist economy is prevented from collapsing by two major props. One is the bubble of consumer credit. The other is government spending for arms—a multi-billion dollar military boondoggling program.

Sooner or later the credit bubble will burst and set in motion the forces leading to economic paralysis. Society then will be confronted by an economic crisis of the first magnitude. In this crisis the warehouses will groan with unsold surpluses while the mass of the people will suffer increasing want. Unemployment among the useful producers—the working class—will be on a scale that will make the depression of the 'thirties seem mild by comparison. And business failures will spread like a plague among the petty capitalists, while the capitalist giants, the great corporate empires, concentrate even more economic power in their power-greedy hands.

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FACTS ABOUT THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

1. The Socialist Labor Party is the oldest American political party claiming to represent the interests of the working class, having been organized originally in 1876 and reorganized on its present scientific basis in 1890.
2. The Socialist Labor Party has participated in every national ("Presidential") campaign since 1892.
3. The Socialist Labor Party is organized in more than half the states in the union, with isolated groups or members scattered in the rest of the states.
4. The Socialist Labor Party is an unincorporated association deriving its support primarily from its members and sympathizers, who thus make possible the Party's educational work, including the publishing of its official organ, the WEEKLY PEOPLE, now in its sixty-sixth year of uninterrupted publication. All literature and printed matter generally are printed in the Party's printing plant, owned and controlled by the rank and file of the Party.
5. The Socialist Labor Party has no connection or affiliation with the so-called Socialist party, Communist party, or with any other party or group in this country or abroad.
6. The Socialist Labor Party takes a sharply critical attitude toward all other parties and groups, including the so-called labor union organizations known as the AFL-CIO, and kindred bodies. It is fundamentally opposed to all methods or tactics which run counter to peaceful or orderly procedure. The Socialist Labor Party, with its great founder, Daniel De Leon, insists that a peaceful solution of the social question is possible.
7. The Socialist Labor Party regards the Constitution of the United States as one of the greatest documents of its kind since governments were instituted among men. The Socialist Labor Party takes its stand four-square on the proposition enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Independence that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." Accordingly, the program of the Socialist Labor Party calls for the establishment of an industrial democracy -- a Socialist government completely in the hands of the mass of the people themselves. In the words of the great Daniel De Leon:

"Socialism is that social system under which the necessities of production are owned, controlled and administered by the people, for the people, and under which, accordingly, the cause of political and economic despotism having been abolished, class rule is at an end. That is Socialism -- nothing short of that."

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY



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NATIONAL SECRETARY

GEORGIA COZZINI

Socialist Labor Party Candidate for Vice President

Georgia Cozzini, 41-year old housewife, was nominated as the Socialist Labor Party's candidate for Vice President of the United States at the Party's 24th National Convention held in New York City, May 5-7, 1956.

Born Georgia Purvis in Springfield, Missouri, in 1915, Mrs. Cozzini's parents moved to Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1924. She graduated from West Allis High School as an honor student, receiving a scholarship to go on to Wisconsin State College in Milwaukee. After one year of college, financial circumstances made it necessary for her to get a job. She has worked as cashier and clerk, as receptionist, and as press-clipping reader.

She was married in 1935 to Artemio Cozzini, of Milwaukee, a knife-grinder by trade. They have two children, Gina, 10, who attends grade school, and Bruce, 19, who is presently a student at the University of Wisconsin.

Mrs. Cozzini has been a member of the Socialist Labor Party for 16 years. She has been a candidate for Governor of Wisconsin, and United States Senator, on the Socialist Labor Party ticket. She has lectured throughout the midwest, conducted study classes and made numerous broadcasts.

Mrs. Cozzini will make campaign appearances throughout the country. Her major tour will start early in September.

(Released by S.L.P. Campaign
Headquarters. Joseph Pirincin,
Campaign Manager.)

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ARNOLD PETERSEN
NATIONAL SECRETARY

ERIC HASS

Socialist Labor Party Candidate for President

Eric Hass, 51-year old Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, official organ of the Socialist Labor Party of America, was nominated as the Party's Candidate for President of the United States, at the 24th National Convention held in New York City, May 5-7, 1956. Mr. Hass was first nominated for President in 1952. He had previously served as candidate for Governor of New York, for United States Senator from Oregon (1936), for U.S. Senator from New York, and various other public offices.

Born in Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1905 of German and Danish immigrant parents, Mr. Hass attended the public schools of that city, and for a time was a student at the University of Nebraska. He had been employed variously as a waiter, cook, railroad brakeman, engineer, newspaper reporter and salesman when in 1928 he came into contact with the Socialist Labor Party.

By 1930, Mr. Hass was making speaking tours for the Party, and in 1932 he became a National Organizer, touring in all parts of the country, but particularly on the West Coast. In 1938 he was called to New York to assume the post of Editor of the WEEKLY PEOPLE, and he was re-elected to that position by the Party membership in 1940, 1944, 1948, 1952 and 1956, each time for four year terms. Mr. Hass has written a number of pamphlets on Socialism, and a volume dealing with the various so-called Socialist internationals.

Mr. Hass will make campaign appearances throughout the country. He is married, and makes his home in New York City.

(Released by S.L.P. Campaign
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SOCIALIST INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

THE Workers' Power

A Socialist Industrial Union, in shop, mine, factory and on the railroads, conscious of its revolutionary mission, would constitute a power unconquerable.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

In a revolutionary period in history, when mankind must choose between an outworn social order and a new order, the question HOW becomes every bit as important as the question WHAT.

The great social question of our age which demands immediate solution is: Are we going to keep the system of private ownership? Shall we attempt to preserve a social system that has proved its incapacity to solve the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty? Do you favor prolonging the life of a society in which a few own all the means of wealth-production, in which labor-saving machinery, instead of lightening labor's toil, throws workers out of their jobs on to the industrial scrapheap? Must mankind pass through still another vicious cycle of depression, crisis and war? Or shall we do the common-sense thing, make the means of production our collective property, abolish exploitation of the many by the few, and use our productive genius to create leisure and abundance for all?

If you agree with us that society must be reconstructed, then there are certain things we must understand. The first is that we can expect no help whatsoever from the beneficiaries of capitalism. Here and there a capitalist may see the handwriting on the wall and join with the workers, but as a class the capitalists, like the slave-owning and feudal classes before them, will strive to prolong their poverty-ridden, war-breeding system. The workers of hand and brain must build this new world and emancipate

themselves through their own class-conscious efforts.

The second thing we must understand is this: Though the workers are in the overwhelming majority, and have tremendous potential power, they can apply their collective strength to the task at hand only through organization.

How must the American workers organize to effect their emancipation?

We have a Constitution that provides for its own amendment, or, in other words, that legalizes revolution. In the language of Abraham Lincoln: "The right of peaceable assembly and petition and by Article V of the Constitution—the right of amendment—is the constitutional substitute for [armed] revolution."

This means that by organizing politically the working class places itself firmly upon the institutions of civilization, and avails itself fully of the constitutional right of political agitation and the ballot. This is the peaceful method. It permits the forces of progress to proclaim their purpose in the broad-open day, and there mobilize themselves for political victory and the conquest of the capitalist political State.

But no ruling class in history has ever willingly relinquished its power and privileges. There is nothing in the history of our own ruling class to indicate that it differs in this respect from the slave-owning and feudal classes of old. Therefore, behind the Socialist ballot the workers must organize a power capable of enforcing its

mandate. Socialist Industrial Unionism is that power. Unlike C.I.O., A. F. of L. unionism, which boasts of being a bulwark of capitalism, Socialist Industrial Unionism declares its intention to abolish class rule.

The source of all power is economic. Armies, particularly modern armies, cannot operate unless they are constantly supplied with a multitude of items which flow uninterruptedly from industry. Although an army is a military power, it is dependent on industry, hence on the workers who operate industry.

Modern capitalist production has achieved such magnitude that it has greatly expanded the potential economic power of the workers. This is true because the workers run industry from top to bottom and are, therefore, in the best strategic position to take possession. "Take possession" is precisely what we must do in an orderly and yet resolute manner the moment the victory at the polls is proclaimed. This is not a general strike (which leaves the workers in the open terrain), but a GENERAL LOCKOUT OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS!

Finally, the Socialist Industrial Union supplies the instrument for the administration of production under the Industrial Republic of Labor. It is at once "the battering ram with which to pound down the fortress of capitalism, and the successor of the capitalist social structure itself."

All power to the Socialist Industrial Union!

ABRAHAM LINCOLN SAID: "Inasmuch as most things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government."



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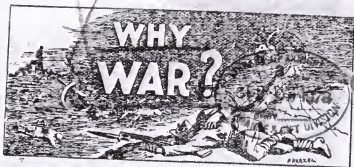
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1958
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY
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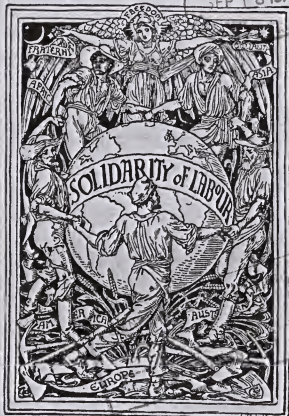
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MEAN INCREASED PRICES?**

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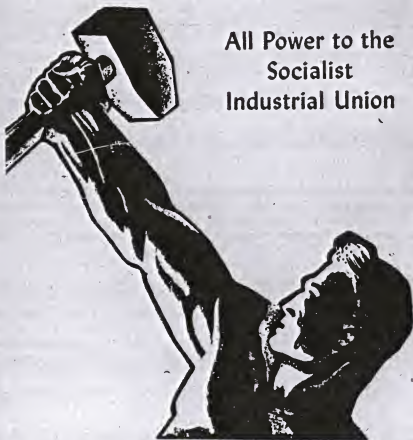
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SOCIALISM:

Hope of Mankind



All Power to the
Socialist
Industrial Union

Platform of the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

War Means Dictatorship

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A standing military force, with an overgrown executive, will not long be safe companions for liberty. The means of defense against foreign danger have been always the instruments of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim to excite war whenever a revolt was apprehended. Throughout all Europe, the armies kept up under the pretext of defending, have enslaved the people. It is perhaps questionable whether the best concerted system of absolute power in Europe could maintain itself in a situation where no alarms of external danger could tame the people to the domestic yoke.

JAMES MADISON,
Fourth President of
the United States.

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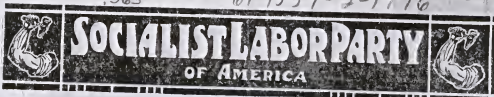


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**Means
Total
War
on
Labor**

The Socialist Labor Party, being the only Party of Socialism in America, has no affiliation or association with the so-called Socialist party, Communist party, American Labor party, nor with any other party or group in this country or abroad.



The Industrial Union

THE REVOLUTIONARY WEAPON.

The Socialist Industrial Union organizes each plant of production into ONE union, that is the unit, which would correspond to the present country. All the units in the land that yield the same output are combined into ONE national union which would correspond to the present state. All the national unions are combined into ONE all-embracing union, which corresponds to the present nation. Now, then, tailors and barbers employed in a hotel belong, together with all the useful labor of that plant, in ONE union, of whatever name may be chosen with an eye to the nature of the plant, and that unit is a member of the corresponding national union. Similarly with "floor sweepers and engineers employed in the clothing industry." Of course, tailors and barbers employed in a hotel, floor sweepers and engineers employed in a clothing plant, may or may not be organized into subdivisions of the respective units. Whether necessary or not is a matter of practical application, dependent upon a variety of circumstances.

—DANIEL DE LEON.

Tactics Become Important.

In a revolutionary period in history, when mankind must choose between an outworn social order and a new order, the question how becomes every bit as important as the question what. If it is once conceded that capitalism is no longer able adequately to feed, clothe and house the mass of the people and that the only social system that can possibly take its place is Socialism, i.e., the collective ownership and operation of the modern machines of production together with the social ownership and distribution of the products of labor, then the natural query that presents itself is: *How are we going to get it?*

What Is Social Revolution?

It is self-evident that the capitalist owners of industry, the exploiters of labor, are not going philanthropically to hand over what they consider their private property to their workers and step out. Social changes, social revolutions, do not occur that way. Revolutions take place only when the old order is so corrupt, so outworn, so inefficient that it has no room for further expansion, no room for progress, and cannot give the workers a decent

standard of living. But it is important to note that even when such a time arrives in the life of a social system, its beneficiaries, its political powers and industrial rulers having become parasitic, will hang on to the system that nourishes them until they are forcibly pried loose. The capitalist will be no exception, he cannot be. To cling to the system, to continue to exploit the working class, is the nature of the capitalist beast.

Organization Inevitable.

In order to emancipate themselves from wage slavery and establish Socialism, the workers must organize. "Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow." In organization, in unity alone, is there strength. And in a revolutionary period there is strength only in the organization whose principles and tactics lead straight to the goal.

The organization of the American revolutionary working class must be twofold: First, the revolutionary political party of Socialism, the Socialist Labor Party; and, second, the economic organization, the Socialist Industrial Union. The function of the revolutionary party of Socialism is to educate the workers, to stir them to action to achieve the goal. The Socialist Labor Party places itself firmly upon the institutions of civilization, the ball of political agitation and the ballot, and under these shields of civilization it gathers its forces for the overthrow of the political robbering of capitalism, the Political State, the present class government, and for the establishment in its place of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

Political Rights Must Be

Backed Up.

But the Socialist Labor Party knows only too well that in the Political State the capitalists have all the cards stacked against the working class and the Socialist Revolution.

In the first place, the political

henchmen of capitalism can and no doubt will attempt to count us out. But, as De Leon put it, "A man may monkey with the thermometer, yet he is utterly unable to monkey with the temperature" — the gathering revolutionary storm cannot be stopped by disarming halloos. They may attempt to prevent the candidates of the workers from being seated. And they can do more; they can and no doubt will call upon the police force, the army, the navy, the air fleet, to attempt to suppress the Revolution. Of all these forces, the capitalists and their henchmen will be in full command until the workers are victorious. What, then, are we to do? If we would win we must meet night with night; force with force. Again *force*.

Labor's Might.

It is self-evident that the workers cannot train an army to cope with the army of the nation. In many places, the people have not the right even to carry a gun, let alone the opportunity to drill masses for revolutionary purposes. The day of the force that lies in violence is over. Where, then, can the workers look for the necessary force to carry out their revolution?

There is only one place where the might of the workers of today is greater by the million times than the might of the capitalist class. And that is in industry. That the economic power is the real power is pretty well understood today, and is even sensed by the proverbial "man in the street." The power of the Political State would dwindle to nothing without the economic power of capital behind it. The power of capitalism self-evidently rises out of industry, i.e., the private ownership and control by the industrial barons of the land, the shops, the mines, the railroads, etc. — in other words, their power to exploit the working class.

But it must not be forgotten that the sole power of the capitalists lies

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INDUSTRIAL GOV'T PARTY

There Can Be No Peace Without Socialism



Capitalism Speaks!

Imperialist wars are absolutely inevitable so long as private ownership of the means of social production exists. Expressed in other words: The rivalries between imperialist (capitalist) powers over world markets, sources of raw materials, and spheres of economic and political influence, inevitably lead to imperialist wars. The capitalists divide the world, not out of personal malice, or because of so-called ideological antipathies, but because the degree of capital concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method. They partition and divide the world "in proportion to strength." There cannot be any other method of division under the system of commodity production and capitalism.

Despite all the attempts to give the present war between Nazi Germany and the Allied powers the

color of a crusade for democracy it is, like the first World War, an imperialist conflict.

Nazi Germany, through the mouth of the frenetic spokesman for German imperialism, has openly avowed that Germany must "export or die." But the aims of the Nazi plunder-bund, grown powerful through merciless exploitation of the German working class, are blocked by the British Empire.

On the other hand, the British imperialists cannot tolerate the challenge to their supremacy. If their vile collaboration with the Nazis in the subjugation and annexation of neighboring states seems to dispute this, let it be recalled that their fear of the working class at home, as well as their military unpreparedness, and, finally, the hope that Germany would embroil itself in a war with Soviet Russia, were the factors

which led to the disgraceful Munich capitulation.

Abundant evidence is at hand which gives the lie to the claim that the Allied Powers fight for any cause other than their own imperialist interests. The fact that Franco-British imperialists aided in the rise to power of the degenerate Nazis belies their present simulated hatred of Hitlerism; Franco-British imperialists delivered Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Albania over to the Fascist hordes, thus branding as monstrous hypocrisy the canard that this is a war to preserve the integrity of small nations; British imperialists, by brazenly breaking their pledged word to the people of India and the Jews in Palestine, thus making a travesty of treaties, themselves give the lie to the unctuous claim that they fight for adherence to the terms

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SET OF LEAFLETS ISSUED BY THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

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SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA



The Machine and Unemployment

Few people today dare deny that society is in a depression, not to say dangerous state. Unemployment and its results, starvation, cold, misery, are stalking this land as well as the whole world, in countries of scarcity and plenty alike — but decidedly most pronouncedly in the midst of great plenty or in the country of abundance of all the good things of life. Glibly people talk of "depression," "crisis," and even more glibly about the revival of industrial and commercial activity, of "prosperity" which monthly and yearly is expected at any moment.

Breakdown—Not Mere Crisis

However, to look upon the present sorry state of society as a "crisis" is completely to miss its true significance. Society, the system of capitalism, is ill; that is agreed. Youthful, vigorous systems often are attacked by illness. The system puts up a fight to throw off the germs of disease. There is a crisis, the patient is very low, even in danger, but health conquers, the vigorous organism has won. In turn, the growing organism may throw off measles, scarlet fever, diphtheria, pneumonia and still live on in health and vigor. But the disease from which capitalism suffers today is not a disease that youth may be heir to; it is the disease of old age and decay.

Capital's Mission Ended.

The "mission," the destiny, of capitalism in the line of human progress was to improve and develop the means of production of the necessities of life, and along with this to improve, concentrate and organize the industrial process. This mission has been fulfilled, simply and ably fulfilled, though, of course, with tremendous sorrow, suffering and sacrifice to the working class that has performed for the capitalists the wonders of our age.

The machines have been improved and perfected from the simple tools and implements of the manufacturing period to the multomatic and even automatic giant machines of today. How and why? As a result of the "system." Capitalism was built on competition, "the survival of the fittest"—not the ablest, the best, the kindest—but simply those best fitted to survive under the capitalist competitive system, which was often enough the most cruel, the most unscrupulous. Machine production, once started, had to improve. The capitalists who improved won, conquered; those who did not, went down in the race. Inventions were more and more seldom made by the capitalist owners themselves, for these, as the system developed, became more and more separated from the labor process; they became pure owners, financiers, speculators in

stocks and bonds, or outright drones. But machines in the industries multiplied. Inventions were bought, appropriated, stolen; sometimes a small premium was offered to employes for any improvement or suggestion for improvement made while at work; sometimes, and more and more frequently, workers on entering an industry have to sign over in advance to the company any improvement or invention they might make while employed. Thus the machines grew under capitalist pressure.

Concentration Has Recast Society.

The other capitalist mission was concentration. Competition grew ever fiercer as capitalism developed. The "incompetents," that is, those who were backward at exploiting labor and improving machines by hook and by crook, went down and out of the capitalist class. Soon the individual could not face the music alone. The partnership arose; then the joint stock company; then the syndicate; then the trust; then the merger, which is a giant combination of trusts. Gradually the capitalist class had fallen into upper and lower layers, the lower forming a new "middle class," economically "unfit," crushed between the upper millstone of giant capital and the lower millstone of labor that with all its

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Workers Party of America



Adopted
AT NATIONAL CONVENTION
NEW YORK CITY
December, 24 — 25 — 26 — 1921

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December 24-25-26-27, 1921
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A PETTY-BOURGEOIS OPPOSITION IN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY

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It is necessary to call things by their right names. Now that the positions of both factions in the struggle have become determined with complete clearness, it must be said that the Minority of the National Committee are leading a typical petty-bourgeois tendency. Like any petty-bourgeois group inside the socialist movement, the present opposition is characterized by the following features: a disdainful attitude towards theory and an inclination towards eclecticism; disrespect for the tradition of their own organization; anxiety for personal "independence" at the expense of anxiety for objective truth; nervousness instead of consistency; readiness to jump from one position to another; lack of understanding of revolutionary centralism and hostility toward it; in the end, inclination to substitute clique ties and personal relationships for Party discipline. Not all the members of the opposition of course manifest these features with identical strength. Nevertheless, as always in a variegated bloc the tinge is given by those who are most distant from Marxism and proletarian policy. A prolonged and serious struggle is obviously before us. I make no attempt to exhaust the problem in this article, but I will endeavor to outline its general features.

H26

Theoretical Skepticism and Eclecticism

In the January 1939 issue of the New International a long article was published by Comrades Burnham and Shachtman, "Intellectuals in Retreat." The article, while containing many correct ideas and apt political characterizations, was marred by a fundamental defect if not flaw - - while launching polemics against opponents who consider themselves (without sufficient reason) above all as proponents of "theory", the article deliberately did not elevate the problem to a theoretical height. It was absolutely necessary to explain why the "radical" intellectuals accept Marxism without dialectics (a clock without a spring.). The secret is simple. In no other country has there been such a rejection of the class struggle as in the country of "unlimited opportunity." The denying of social contradictions as the moving force of development led to the denying of dialectics as the logic of contradictions. Just as in the sphere of politics it was thought possible everybody could be convinced of the correctness of a "just" program by means of clever syllogism and society could be reconstructed through "rational" evolutionary measures, so in the sphere of theory it was accepted as proved that Aristotelian logic, lowered to the level of "common sense" was sufficient for the solution of all questions.

Fragmatism, a mixture of rationalism and empiricism, became the national philosophy of the United States. The theoretical methodology of Max Eastman is not fundamentally different from the methodology of Henry Ford - - both regard living society from the point of view of an "engineer" (Eastman -- Platonically.) Historically the present disdainful attitude toward dialectics is explained simply by the fact that the grandfathers and great-grandmothers of Max Eastman and others did not need dialectics in order to conquer territory and enrich themselves. However, times have changed and the philosophy of pragmatism has entered a period of bankruptcy just as has American capitalism.

The authors of the article did not show, could not and did not care to show, this internal connection between philosophy and the material development of society, and they frankly explained why.

"The two authors of the present article," they wrote of themselves, "differ thoroughly on their estimate of the general theory of dialectical materialism, one of them accepting it and the other rejecting it . . . There is nothing anomalous in such a situation. Though theory is doubtless always in one way or another related to practice, the relation is not invariably direct or immediate; and as we have before had occasion to remark, human beings often act inconsistently. From the